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551 [171 727].

Adair tells us that an unsuccessful Chickasaw leader might be stripped of all his war titles.[99] I was told that the Creeks did not do this, but in earlier times it may very well have happened.

The following list of war names was obtained from Zachariah Cook:

As hadjo.
Abali hadjo.
Abayáli hadjo.
Abí'ka fiksíko, "Abíhka fiksíko."
Abí'ka hadjo.
Abí'ka yahola.
Abí'kutci, "Little Abíhka."
Abuyak fiksíko, "Putting-down fiksíko" (?)
Abuyak hadjo.
Abuyak yahola.
Adji yahola, "Corn yahola."
Adji hátci fiksíko.
Adji hátci hadjo.
Adji hátci yahola (?).
Ahalak fiksíko, "Potato fiksíko."
Ahalak hadjo.
Ahalak yahola.
Ahalakutci, "Little Potato."
Ahotáligo, "Clear minded."
Akálpoisa hadjo, "Dipping-something-in-under hadjo."
Akálopísa yahola.
Akfáski fiksíko, "Okfuskee fiksíko."
Akfáski hadjo.
Aktayatci fiksíko, "Aktayatci-clan fiksíko."
Aktayatci hadjo.
Aktayatci yahola.
Aktayatcutci.
Atcifaháli hadjo, "Broken- (or rough-) country hadjo."
Báskáp hadjo, (Báskáp is perhaps the same as Paskofa, see below).
Fus fiksíko, "Bird fiksíko."
Fus hadjo.
Fus yahola.
Fus hátci fiksíko, "Bird-creek (?) fiksíko."
Fus hátci hadjo.
Fus hátci yahola.
Haliposa hadjo, "Victor (?) hadjo."
Halpata fiksíko, "Alligator fiksíko."
Halpata hadjo.
Henlha tástánágí.
Henlha teápko, "Long henlha."
Henlhutci, "Little henlha."
Hilíbi fiksíko.
Hilíbi hadjo.
Hilis fiksíko, "Medicine fiksíko."
Hilis hadjo.
Hobayi fiksíko (?), "Far away fiksíko."
Hobayi hadjo.
Hobayi yahola.
Hobayutci.
Hoboihíli fiksíko, "Good child fiksíko."
Hoboihíli hadjo.
Hoboihíli yahola.
Hobuis hadjo, (Hobuis from hobuiwa, "child," or hobíli, "fog").
Hola'ta fiksíko.
Hola'ta hadjo.
Hola'ta yahola.
Hola'tutci.
Hotálgi fiksíko, "Wind fiksíko."
Hotálgi hadjo.
Hotálgi imala (?)
Hotálgi yahola.
Ifa hadjo, "Dog hadjo."
Imadjiska hadjo, "Butt-of-tree hadjo."
Ina tástánágí, "An ina warrior." (As a man went into battle he repeated a formula or song called "ina" which was supposed to preserve him from harm during the action.)
Inlanis hadjo.[99]
Ispani fiksíko, "Spanish fiksíko."
Ispani yahola.
Itchas fiksíko, "Beaver fiksíko."
Itchas hadjo.
Itchas yahola.
Itchasutci.
Iteo fiksíko, "Deer fiksíko."
Iteo hadjo.
Iteo tástánágí.
Iteo yahola.
Iteo-íli hadjo, "Deer-foot hadjo."
Iteo kutcúgáni, "Short deer."
Iteo-yábi hadjo, "Deer-horn hadjo."
Itcutci, "Little deer."
Kalamúlk hadjo, "Kalamulgi hadjo."
Kán teat hadjo.
Kapítca fiksíko, "Lye-drip fiksíko."
Kapítca hadjo.

[99] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 393.

[99] See p. 118.

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to a clan into which he could not marry in his own town, provided that marriage between the clans was allowed in the town to which she belonged. As indicated already, there is no clear evidence that the great dual divisions were ever exogamous as a whole.

Before intertribal wars came to an end the Creeks were in the habit of increasing the size of their clans by adopting captives, especially young people of both sexes.

Slavery was not institutional among the southern Indians as it was with those of the north Pacific coast. The older male captives taken in war, and sometimes the younger ones, were anciently burned. The women and children, unless killed on the spot, were adopted into the tribe and so were those males whose lives had been spared. At the same time there was certainly some onus attaching to their position which may have lasted through life, though it does not appear to have attached to the second generation. Bartram had a good opportunity to observe the condition of slaves among the Seminole and represents their attitude as most abject and servile, but he adds that their children were "free and considered in every respect equal to themselves."[84] He states in this place that "the parents continue in a state of slavery as long as they live,"[84] but elsewhere he partially contradicts himself to the effect that "all slaves have their freedom when they marry, which is permitted and encouraged, when they and their offspring are every way upon an equality with their conquerors,"[85] and just above we read, "I saw in every town in the Nation [of the Creeks] and Seminoles that I visited, more or less male captives, some extremely aged, who were free and in as good circumstances as their masters."[86]

It must be remembered that at the time of which Bartram speaks the Creeks and Seminole had given up the custom of burning their captives, and therefore many were kept alive among them who had formerly been destroyed. The persistence of this less assimilable body of foreigners and the example of slavery among the whites had probably begun to affect the older institution to some extent. At an earlier date the captives taken in war probably formed a less distinct class and were assimilated more rapidly.

Some of the small clans were regarded as inferiors by the others, and this may have been due in some cases to a slave origin, but I have not recorded so much as a tradition to that effect, and the low esteem in which they were held more likely arose in most cases from the incestuous origin often attributed to them.[88] At various times white people have claimed kinship with certain Creek clans. For obvious reasons they have usually been assigned to a White clan, particularly the Wind. [609]

[84] Bartram, Travels, p. 191.
[85] Ibid., p. 211.
[88] For ranking of clans see pp. 68, 212, 214, 223, and Bull. 73, p. 276.

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The Yuchi probably claimed an exclusive right to hunt in their ancient territories on the Savannah and Ogechee.

Spoils taken in war were the property of the captor. Rights to land on the part of tribes and towns seem to have been based on original occupancy, hunting, and conquest in wars with other tribes.[19] It is probable that if we could investigate the Creek confederacy as it existed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries we should find that, in spite of a freedom to hunt broadly exercised, certain towns and clans claimed prior rights over parts of the common territory outside of their contiguous town limits, so easily does the idea of ownership become associated with that of use.[20] Coweta in particular seems to have put forth extensive claims to ownership of territory in the eastern part of the Creek area, and early in the nineteenth century even professed a right to dispose of the lands of the entire nation. This was, however, a political move fathered by the State of Georgia and that half-breed element which was acting in its interest.

In general we may say of the ancient Creeks that use and ownership among them were pretty closely united while the clan system and accompanying feeling of solidarity and sense of the duty of hospitality diffused prosperity to such an extent that well being was pretty widely extended and contrasts between wealth and poverty comparatively slight.

Finally I can not refrain from quoting the following passage from Hawkins, which shows clearly the economic bases of the difficulties between the whites and the larger tribes of Indians in the Southeast:

"Notwithstanding, I rely for the present on the assurance I have received [from the Indians], I must inform you that the game has become scarce; the wants of the Indians are increasing, the men too proud to labour; the distemper has destroyed their horses; the presents heretofore given by Great Britain, in quantities sufficient to cloathe all the idlers, has ceased; those given by Spain are mere baubles. The men, bred in habits proudly indolent and insolent, accustomed to be courted, and to think that they did a favour by receiving, where naked, cloathes and comforts from the British agents, will reluctantly and with difficulty, be humbled to the level of rational life."[21]

Crime and Punishment

The word haksi was used by Chickasaw of Adair's time "to convey the idea of a person's being a criminal in any thing whatsoever," and "such unfortunate persons as are mad, deaf, dumb, or blind, are called by no other name."[22] The original meaning of this word is

[19] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. I, p. 282.

[20] Eakins denies, however, that families had exclusive rights to any hunting grounds. This was after the removal west.

[21] Hawkins, Letters, in Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. IX, p. 340; cf. also p. 209.

[22] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 157, footnote.

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has the following to say regarding murder in the stricter sense of that term:

"If murder is committed, the family and tribe alone have the right of taking satisfaction. They collect, consult and decide. The rulers of the town, or the nation, have nothing to do or to say in the business. The relations of the murdered person consult first among themselves, and if the case is clear, and their family or tribe are not likely to suffer by their decision, they determine on the case definitely. When the tribe may be affected by it, in a doubtful case, or an old claim for satisfaction, the family then consult with their tribe; and when they have deliberated and resolved on satisfaction, they take the guilty one, if to be come at. If he flies, they take the nearest of kin, or one of the family. In some cases, the family which has done the injury promise reparation; and in that case are allowed a reasonable time to fulfill their promise; and they are generally earnest of themselves, in their endeavors to put the guilty to death, to save an innocent person.

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"This right of judging, and taking satisfaction, being vested in the family or tribe, is the sole cause why their treaty stipulations on this head, never have been executed. In like manner, a prisoner taken in war, is the property of the captor and his family, it being optional with his captor, to kill or save him at the time. And this right must be purchased, and it is now the practice, introduced within a few years, for the nation to pay. The practice has been introduced by the agent for Indian affairs, and he pays on the orders of the chiefs, out of the stipend allowed by the United States to the Creeks. Claims of this sort of seventeen years standing, where the prisoner has been delivered to the order of the chiefs, have been revived, allowed and paid."[29]

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In view of these facts the following law which Hawkins induced the Creek council to adopt becomes significant:

"To declare as law, that when a man is punished by the law of the nation, and dies, that it is the law that killed him. It is the nation who killed him; and that no man or family is to be held accountable for this act of the nation."[30]

Nevertheless it was with great difficulty that the Indian agent was enabled to secure the punishment of certain thieves and mischief-makers, some of whom had insulted the commissioners of Spain and the United States,[31] so strong was the sense of obligation to retaliate for injuries received by a fellow clansman and so great the fear of awaking it. Adair mentions several occasions on which an offender was protected by his family.[32] By 1820, however, Hodgson reports,

[29] Hawkins in Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, pp. 74-75.
[30] Ibid., p. 68.
[31] Ibid., p. 67.
[32] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 183, 184.

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726 778 order to be purified—that they have also as strong a faith of the power and holiness of their ark, as ever the Israelites retained of their's, ascribing the superior success of the party, to their stricter adherence to the law than the other; and after they return home, hang it on the leader's red-painted war pole. . . .

"The Indian ark is deemed so sacred and dangerous to be touched, either by their own sanctified warriors, or the spoiling enemy, that they durst not touch it upon any account. It is not to be meddled with by any, except the war chieftain and his waiter, under the penalty of incurring great evil. Nor would the most inveterate enemey touch it in the woods for the very same reason. . . .

727 "The leader virtually acts the part of a priest of war, *pro tempore*, . . . If they obtain the victory, and get some of the enemeies scalps, they sanctify themselves when they make their triumphal entrance, in the manner they observed before they set off to war; but, if their expedition proves unfortunate, they only mourn over their loss, ascribing it to the vicious conduct of some of the followers of the beloved ark. . . .

726 834 "The Indians will not cohabit with women while they are out at war; they religiously abstain from every kind of intercourse even with their own wives, for the space of three days and nights before they go to war, and so after they return home, because they are to sanctify themselves. . . . The warriors consider themselves as devoted to God apart from the rest of the people, while they are at war accompanying the sacred ark with the supposed holy things it contains." [5]

This law of sexual abstinence accounts for the comparative respect with which female captives were treated by most of the eastern Indians.[6]

726 Adair cites the case of an Indian iconoclast who went to war without the accompaniment of an ark, to the great anxiety of his friends. He has the following to say regarding the numbers taking part in an expedition and their method of conducting it after they had left home:

"It may be expected I should describe the number of men their war companies consist of, but it is various, and uncertain: sometimes, two or three only will go to war, proceed as cautiously, and strike their prey as panthers. . . .

"The common number of an Indian war company, is only from twenty to forty, lest their tracks should be discovered by being too numerous: but if the warring nations are contiguous to each other, the invading party generally chuses to out-number a common company, that they may strike the blow with greater safety and success,

[5] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 181-184.

[6] Cf. Ibid., p. 184.

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726 "When the invaders extend themselves across the woods, in quest of their prey, if they make a plain discovery, either of fresh tracks, or of the enemy, they immediately pass the war-signal to each other, and draw their wings toward the centre. If the former, they give chace, and commonly by their wild-cat-method of crawling, they surround, and surprise the pursued, if unguarded—however, I have known them to fail in such attempts; for the Indians generally are so extremely cautious, that if three of them are in the woods, their first object is a proper place for defence, and they always sit down in a triangle, to prevent a surprise. When enemies discover one another, and find they can take no advantage, they make themselves known to each other; and by way of insulting bravado, they speak aloud all the barbarities they ever committed against them; that they are now, to vindicate those actions, and make the wound for ever incurable; that they are their most bitter enemies, and equally contemn their friendship and enmity. In the mean while, they throw down their packs, strip themselves naked, and paint their faces and breasts red as blood, intermingled with black streaks. Every one at the signal of the shrill-sounding war-cry, instantly covers himself behind a tree, or in some cavity of the ground where it admits of the best safety. The leader, on each side, immediately blows the small whistle he carries for the occasion, in imitation of the ancient trumpet, as the last signal of engagement. Now hot work begins—The guns are firing; the chewed bullets flying; the strong hiccory bows a twanging; the dangerous barbed arrows whizzing as they fly; the sure-shafted javelin striking death wherever it reaches; and the well-aimed tomohawk killing, or disabling its enemy. Nothing scarcely can be heard for the shrill echoing noise of the war and death-whoop, every one furiously pursues his adversary from tree to tree, striving to incircle him for his prey; and the greedy jaws of pale death are open on all sides, to swallow them up. One dying foe is intangled in the hateful and faltering arms of another: and each party desperately attempts both to save their dead and wounded from being scalped, and to gain the scalps of their opponents. On this the battle commences anew—But rash attempts fail, as their wary spirits always forbid them from entering into a general close engagement. Now they retreat: then they draw up into various figures, still having their dead and wounded under their eye. Now they are flat on the ground loading their pieces—then they are up firing behind trees, and immediately spring off in an oblique course to recruit—and thus they act till winged victory declares itself.

727 "The vanquished party makes for a swampy thicket, as their only asylum; but should any of them be either unarmed, or slightly

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wounded, the speedy pursuers captivate them, and usually reserve them for a worse death than that of the bullet. On returning to the place of battle, the victors begin, with mad rapture, to cut and slash those unfortunate persons, who fell by their arms and power; and they dismember them, after a most inhuman manner. If the battle be gained near home, one hero cuts off and carries this member of the dead person, another that, as joyful trophies of a decisive victory. If a stranger saw them thus loaded with human flesh, without proper information, he might conclude them to be voracious cannibals. . . . Their first aim however is to take off the scalp, when they perceive the enemy hath a proper situation, and strength to make a dangerous resistance. Each of them is so emulous of exceeding another in this point of honour, that it frequently stops them in their pursuit.

"This honourable service is thus performed [7]—They seize the head of the disabled, or dead person, and placing one of their feet on the neck, they with one hand twisted in the hair, extend it as far as they can—with the other hand, the barbarous artists speedily draw their long sharp-pointed scalping knife out of a sheath from their breast, give a slash round the top of the skull, and with a few dextrous scoops. soon strip it off. They are so expeditious as to take off a scalp in two minutes. When they have performed this part of their martial virtue, as soon as time permits, they tie with bark or deer's sinews, their speaking trophies of blood in a small hoop, to preserve it from putrefaction, and paint the interior part of the scalp, and the hoop, all around with red, their flourishing emblematical colour of blood."[8]

"When they have succeeded in killing the enemy, they tie firebrands in the most frequented places, with grape vines which hang pretty low, in order that they may readily be seen by the enemy. As they reckon the aggressors have loudly declared war, it would be madness or treachery in their opinion to use such public formalities before they have revenged crying blood; it would inform the enemy of their design of retaliating, and destroy the honest intention of war. They likewise strip the bark off several large trees in conspicuous places, and paint them with red and black hieroglyphics, thereby threatening the enemy with more blood and death." [9]

"They are now satisfied for the present, and return home. Tradition, or the native divine impression on human nature, dictates to them that man was not born in a state of war; and as they reckon they are become impure by shedding human blood, they hasten to

[7] Speak's Tuskegee informant said that this act "was accompanied with a whoop terminating in several tremulous throat tones in imitation of a turkey's gobble. This was to announce success to the band." (Mem. Am. Anth. Assn., vol. II, p. 118.)

[8] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 393-398. A single scalp was often cut up and distributed among the warriors. Adair mentions a case in which a scalp of a Koasati had been taken by some Choctaw and the warriors of the separate towns divided it and carried the parts to their respective homes. (Adair, p. 398.)

[9] Adair, op. cit., p. 148.

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727 observe the fast of three days, as formerly mentioned, and be sanctified by the war-chieftain, as a priest of war, according to law. While they are thus impure, though they had a fair opportunity of annoying the common enemy again, yet on this account they commonly decline it, and are applauded for their religious conduct, by all their countrymen. Indeed, formerly, when the whole combined power of the French, and their Indians, was bent against the warlike Chikkasah, I have known the last sometimes to hazard their martial virtue and success, and to fight three or four companies of French Indians, before they returned home; but the leaders excused themselves, by the necessity of self-defence. They have no such phrase as the 'fortune of war.' They reckon the leader's impurity to be chief occasion of bad success; and if he lose several of his warriors by the enemy, his life is either in danger for the supposed fault, or he is degraded, by taking from him his drum, war-whistle, and martial titles, and debasing him to his boy's name, from which he is to rise by a fresh gradation. This penal law contributes, in a good measure, to make them so exceedingly cautious and averse to bold attempts in war, and they are usually satisfied with two or three scalps and a prisoner." [10]

The following account of the torture inflicted upon prisoners is given by the same author:

"It has been long too feelingly known, that instead of observing the generous and hospitable part of the laws of war, and saving the unfortunate who fall into their power, that they generally devote their captives to death, with the most agonizing tortures. No representation can possibly be given, so shocking to humanity, as their unmerciful method of tormenting their devoted prisoner; and as it is so contrary to the standard of the rest of the known world, I shall relate the circumstances, so far as to convey proper information thereof to the reader. When the company return from war, and come in view of their own town, they follow the leader one by one, in a direct line, each a few yards behind the other, to magnify their triumph. If they have not succeeded, or any of their warriors are lost, they return quite silent; but if they are all safe, and have succeeded, they fire off the Indian platoon, by one, two, and three at a time, whooping and insulting their prisoners. They camp near their town all night, in a large square plot of ground, marked for the purpose, with a high war-pole fixed in the middle of it, to which they secure their prisoners. Next day they go to the leader's house in a very solemn procession, but stay without, round his red-painted war-pole, till they have determined concerning the fate of their prisoners. If any one of the captives should be fortunate enough to get loose,

[10] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 398.

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and run into the house of the archi-magus, or to a town of refuge, he by ancient custom, is saved from the fiery torture—these places being a sure asylum to them if they were invaded, and taken, but not to invaders, because they came to shed blood.

"Those captives who are pretty far advanced in life, as well as in war-gradations, always atone for the blood they spilt, by the tortures of fire. They readily know the latter, by the blue marks over their breasts and arms; they being as legible as our alphabetical characters are to us. Their ink is made of the soot of pitch-pine, which sticks to the inside of a greased earthen pot; then delineating the parts, like the ancient Picts of Britain, with their wild hieroglyphics, they break through the skin with gair-fish-teeth, and rub over them that dark composition, to register them among the brave; and the impression is lasting. I have been told by the Chikkasah, that they formerly erazed any false marks their warriors proudly and privately gave themselves—in order to engage them to give real proofs of their martial virtue, being surrounded by the French and their red allies; and that they degraded them in a public manner, by stretching the marked parts, and rubbing them with the juice of green corn, which in a great degree took out the impression.

"The young prisoners are saved, if not devoted while the company were sanctifying themselves for their expedition; but if the latter be the case, they are condemned, and tied to the dreadful stake, one at a time. The victors first strip their miserable captives quite naked, and put on their feet a pair of bear-skin maccaseenes, with the black hairy part outwards; others fasten with a grape-vine, a burning fire brand to the pole, a little above the reach of their heads. Then they know their doom—deep black, and burning fire, are fixed seals of their death-warrant. Their punishment is always left to the women; and on account of their false standard of education, they are no way backward in their office, but perform it to the entire satisfaction of the greedy eyes of the spectators. Each of them prepares for the dreadful rejoicing, a long bundle of dry canes, or the heart of fat pitch-pine, and as the victims are led to the stake, the women and their young ones beat them with these in a most barbarous manner. Happy would it be for the miserable creatures, if their sufferings ended here, or a merciful tomahawk finished them at one stroke; but this shameful treatment is a prelude to future sufferings.

"The death-signal being given, preparations are made for acting a more tragical part. The victims arms are fast pinioned, and a strong grape-vine is tied round his neck, to the top of the war-pole, allowing him to track around, about fifteen yards. They fix some tough clay on his head, to secure the scalp from the blazing torches. Unspeakable pleasure now fills the exulting crowd of spectators, and the circle fills with the Amazon and merciless executioners—The

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suffering warrior however is not dismayed; with an insulting manly voice he sings the war-song! and with gallant contempt he tramples the rattling gourd with pebbles in it to pieces, and outbraves even death itself. The women make a furious on-set with their burning torches: his pain is soon so excruciating, that he rushes out from the pole, with the fury of the most savage beast of prey, and with the vine sweeps down all before him, kicking, biting, and trampling them, with the greatest despite. The circle immediately fills again, either with the same, or fresh persons: they attack him on every side—now he runs to the pole for shelter, but the flames pursue him. Then with champing teeth, and sparkling eye-balls, he breaks through their contracted circle afresh, and acts every part, that the highest courage, most raging fury, and blackest despair can prompt him to. But he is sure to be over-power'd by numbers, and after some time the fire affects his tender parts.—Then they pour over him a quantity of cold water, and allow him a proper time of respite, till his spirits recover, and he is capable of suffering new tortures. Then the like cruelties are repeated till he falls down, and happily becomes insensible of pain. Now they scalp him, in the manner before described: dismember, and carry off all the exterior branches of the body, (pudendis non exceptis) in shameful, and savage triumph. This is the most favourable treatment their devoted captives receive: it would be too shocking to humanity either to give, or peruse, every particular of their conduct in such doleful tragedies. . . .

"Not a soul, of whatever age or sex, manifests the least pity during the prisoner's tortures: the women sing with religious joy, all the while they are torturing the devoted victim, and peals of laughter resound through the crowded theatre—especially if he fears to die. But a warrior puts on a bold austere countenance, and carries it through all his pains:—as long as he can, he whoops and out-braves the enemy, describing his own martial deeds against them, and those of his nation, who he threatens will force many of them to eat fire in revenge of his fate, as he himself had often done to some of their relations at their cost.

"Though the same things operate alike upon the organs of the human body, and produce an uniformity of sensations; yet weakness, or constancy of mind derived from habit, helps in a great measure, either to heighten, or lessen the sense of pain. By this, the afflicted party has learned to stifle nature, and shew an outward unconcern, under such slow and acute tortures: and the surprising cruelty of their women, is equally owing to education and custom. . . ." [11]

[11] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 398-401. Romans seems to think that the Creeks were the most cruel of all southern Indians. He says: "As hospitable as this nation is to friends, as irreconcilably inhuman are they to their enemies; there is hardly an instance of one miserable prisoner's ever having escaped their barbarity; the torments they put the wretched victims to, are too horrid to relate, and the account thereof can only serve to make human nature shudder." (Nat. Hist. E. and W. Fla., p. 9.)

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Next comes the disposition of the scalps, rejoicing over their victory, and the conferring of new war titles:

"When the Indians have finished their captive tragedies, they return to the neighboring town in triumph, with the wild shrieking oise of destroying demons: there, they cut the scalps into several pieces, fix them on different twigs of the green leaved pine, and place them on the tops of the circular winter houses of their deceased relations—whose deaths (if by the hand of an enemy) they esteem not revenged till then, and thus their ghosts are enabled to go to their intermediate, but unknown place of rest, till, after a certain time, they return again to live for ever in that tract of land which pleased them best, when in their former state.[118a] They perform this supposed religious duty with great solemnity, attended by a long train of rejoicing women, chanting with soft voices, their grateful song of triumph to *Yo He Wah;* while the favoured warriors echo their praises of the giver of victory, with awful notes, and intermix with them the death whoo-whoop. They dance for three days and nights, rejoicing before the divine presence, for their victory; and the happiness of sending the spirits of their killed relations from the eaves of their houses which they haunted, mourning with such painful notes as *Koo-Koo-Koo*, like the suffering owls of night in pinching winter, according to their creed. In their dance, they represent all the wild-cat movements they made in crawling to surprise the enemy, and their wolfish conduct in killing with safety; or the whole engagement, when they could no way attack by surprise. Now, they lift up one foot, then put it down slowly on tip-toe in a bent posture, looking sharply every way. Thus, they proceed from tree to tree, till the supposed enemy be either defeated by stratagem, or open battle. Then they strut about in parade, and the chief will tell the people he did not behave like a blind white man, who would have rushed on with his eyes shut, improvident of danger; but having wisely considered that his bare breast was not bullet proof, he cunningly covered himself from tree to tree, and by his skilful conduct vanquished the hateful enemy, without exposing his own valuable life to danger. All people praise, or blame another's conduct, in proportion to the parity or disparity it bears to their own standard, and notion of virtue.

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"In the time of their rejoicings, they fix a certain day for the warriors to be crowned; for they cannot sleep sound or easy, under an old title, while a new, or higher one is due. On that long-wished for day, they all appear on the field of parade, as fine and cheerful as the birds in spring. Their martial drums beat, their bloody

[118a] See succeeding article, p. 511.

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colours are displayed, and most of the young people are dancing and rejoicing, for the present success of their nation, and the safe return and preferment of their friends and relations. Every expectant warrior on that joyful day wears deer-skin maccaseenes, painted red, his body is anointed with bear's oil, a young softened otter-skin is tied on each leg, a long collar of fine swan feathers hangs round his neck, and his face is painted with the various streaks of the rain-bow. Thus they appear, when two of the old magi come forth holding as many white wands and crowns, as there are warriors to be graduated: and in a standing posture, they alternately deliver a long oration, with great vehemence of expression, chiefly commending their strict observance of the law of purity, while they accompanied the beloved ark of war, which induced the supreme chieftain to give them the victory, and they encourage the rest to continue to thirst after glory, in imitation of their brave ancestors, who died nobly in defence of their country. At the conclusion of their orations, one of the magi calls three times with a loud voice, one of the warriors by his new name, or war title, and holds up the white crown, and the scepter, or wand. He then gladly answers, and runs whooping to, and around them, three times. One of the old beloved men puts the crown on his head, and the wand into his hand; then he returns to his former place, whooping with joy. In like manner, they proceed with the rest of the graduate warriors, to the end of their triumphal ceremony, concluding with this strong caution, 'Remember what you are (such a warrior, mentioning his titles) according to the old beloved speech.' This is equal to the bold virtuous lessons of the honest Romans, and uncorrupted Greeks. The concluding caution of the magi to the warriors, points at the different duties of the honourable station, that they should always aspire after martial glory, and prefer their own virtue, and the welfare of their country, more than life itself. The crown is wrought round with the long feathers of a swan, at the lower end, where it surrounds his temples, and it is curiously weaved with a quantity of white down, to make it sit easy, and appear more beautiful. To this part that wreathes his brows, the skilful artist warps close together, a ringlet of the longest feathers of the swan, and turning them carefully upward, in an uniform position, he, in the exactest manner, ties them together with deer's sinews, so as the bandage will not appear to the sharpest eyes without handling it. It is a little open at the top, and about fifteen inches high. The crowns they use in constituting war-leaders, are always worked with feathers of the tail of the cherubic eagle, which causes them to be three or four inches higher than the former." [12]

[12] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 387-388.]

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There are some instances on record of women who received the rank and title of warriors,[13] but in a Hitchiti story collected by Gatschet a woman's brave deed was recompensed by conferring a war title upon her son.

That the scalps might be repainted from time to time and made to play a part in later ceremonies is shown by what Adair says of the Choctaw. "At the time Mobile . . . was ceded to Great-Britain, the lower towns of the Choktah brought down all the Chikkasah scalps they had taken, in their thievish way of warring, and had them new painted, and carried them in procession on green boughs of pine, by way of bravado, to show their contempt of the English." [14]

The following account of ceremonies actually witnessed by Adair is most interesting in this connection:

"In the year 1765, when the Chikkasah returned with two French scalps, from the Illinois, (while the British troops were on the Mississippi, about 170 leagues below the Illinois) as my trading house was near the Chikkasah leader, I had a good opportunity of observing his conduct, as far as it was exposed to public view.

"Within a day's march of home, he sent a runner ahead with the glad tidings—and to order his dark winter house to be swept out very clean, for fear of pollution. By ancient custom, when the outstanding party set off for war, the women are so afraid of the power of their holy things, and of prophaning them, that they sweep the house and earth quite clean, place the sweepings in a heap behind the door, leaving it there undisturbed, till *Opáe*, who carries the ark, orders them by a faithful messenger to remove it. He likewise orders them to carry out every utensil which the women had used during his absence, for fear of incurring evil by pollution. The party appeared next day painted red and black, their heads covered all over with swan-down, and a tuft of long white feathers fixt to the crown of their heads. Thus they approached, carrying each of the scalps on a branch of the ever-green pine, singing the awful death song, with a solemn striking air, and sometimes Yo He Wah; now and then sounding the shrill death *Whóo Whoop Whoop*. When they arrived, the leader went a-head of his company, round his winter hot-house contrary to the course of the sun, singing the monosyllable Yo, for about the space of five seconds on a tenor key; again, He He short, on a bass key; then Wah Wah, three times, gutturally on the treble, very shrill, but not so short as the bass note. In this manner they repeated those sacred [15] notes, Yo, He He, Wah Wah, three times, while they were finishing the circle, . . .

[13] For one such see Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. II, p. 42.

[14] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 310.

[15] Adair calls them "sacred" because he believed the Indians to be descended from the Hebrews and these meaningless syllables to be an attempt at the name Jehovah.

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"The leader's *Hetissu*, or 'waiter,' placed a couple of new blocks of wood near the war pole, opposite to the door of the circular hot-house, in the middle of which the fire-place stood; and on these blocks he rested the supposed sacred ark, so that it and the holy fire faced each other. The party were silent a considerable time. At length, the chieftain bade them sit down, and then enquired whether his house was prepared for the solemn occasion, according to his order the day before; being answered in the affirmative, they soon rose up, sounded the death whoop, and walked round the war pole; during which they invoked and sung three times, Yo, He He, Wah Wah, in the manner already described. Then they went with their holy things in regular order into the hot-house, where they continued, exclusive of the first broken day, three days and nights apart from the rest of the people, purifying themselves with warm lotions, and aspersions of the emblematical button-snake-root, without any other subsistence between the rising and the setting of the sun.

"During the other part of the time, the female relations of each of the company, after having bathed, anointed, and drest themselves in their finest, stood in two rows, one on each side of the door, facing each other, from the evening till the morning, singing Ha Ha, Ha He, with a soft shrill voice and a solemn moving air for more than a minute, and then paused about ten minutes, before they renewed their triumphal song. While they sung, they gave their legs a small motion, by the strong working of their muscles, without seeming to bend their joints. When they had no occasion to retire, they have stood erect in the same place, a long frosty night; and except when singing, observed a most profound silence the whole time. During that period, they have no intercourse with their husbands; and they avoid several other supposed pollutions, as not to eat or touch salt, and the like.

"The leader, once in two or three hours came out at the head of his company, and raising the death whoop, made one circle round the red painted war pole, holding up in their right hands the small boughs of pine with the scalps fixed to them, singing as above, waving them to and fro, and then returned again. This religious order they strictly observed the whole time they were purifying themselves, and singing the song of safety, and victory, to the goodness and power of the divine essence. When the time of their purification and thanksgiving expired, the men and women went and bathed themselves, returned in the same manner, and anointed again, according to their usual custom.

"They joined soon after in a solemn procession, to fix the scalps on the tops of the houses of their relations who had been killed without revenge of blood. The war chieftain went first—his religious attendant followed him; the warriors next, according to their rising merit; and the songstresses brought up the rear. In this order they went

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round the leader's winter-house from the east to the north, the men striking up the death whoop, and singing the death song; and then Yo, He He, Wah Wah, as described; the women also warbling Ha Ha, Ha He, so that one might have said according to the sacred text, 'great was the company of the women who sung the song of triumph.'[16] Then they fixed on the top of the house, a twig of the pine they had brought with them, with a small piece of one of the scalps fastened to it; and this order they observed from house to house, till in their opinion they had appeased the ghosts of their dead. They went and bathed again; and thus ended their purification, and triumphal solemnity—only the leader and his religious waiter kept apart three days longer, purifying themselves. I afterward asked the reason of this—they replied they were *Ishtohoollo*."[17]

In other words these men were temporarily of the same class as the priests of whom he says elsewhere:

"The Indian *Ishtohoollo* "holy men" [ishto, "great," holo, "holy"] are by their function absolutely forbidden to slay; notwithstanding their propensity thereto, even for small injuries. They will not allow the greatest warrior to officiate, when the yearly grand sacrifice of expiation is offered up, or on any other religious occasion, except the leader. All must be performed by their beloved men, who are clean of every stain of blood, and have their foreheads circled with streaks of white clay." [18]

Regarding the devotion of prisoners to death in advance Adair speaks more at length elsewhere. As already stated, the younger captives were frequently adopted and the lives of others were sometimes spared, but all would be killed indiscriminately if, before they started upon the expedition, the warriors had devoted them to death. Apparently this "devotion to death" might take many forms. They might vow to kill all they should meet on a certain trail, or all of a certain nation, or all during a certain time. The old Indians informed Adair that formerly they had devoted to death only the guilty and had adopted the rest,[19] but inasmuch as a clan or tribe according to Indian law was responsible for the actions of all of its members this signifies little. It was because of a previous "devotion to death" that the English traders could not save those Frenchmen captured in their unsuccessful invasions of Chickasaw territory.[20] In the same way Adair accounts for the burning by the Creeks of an Indian who happened to be a Cherokee only in part on his mother's side.[21] Adair continues regarding this matter:

"The Indians use no stated ceremony in immolating their devoted captives, although it is the same thing to the unfortunate victims,

[16] Last year I heard the Choktah women, in those towns which lie next to New Orleans, sing a singular anthem and dirge, in the dusk of the evenings, while their kinsmen were gone to war against the Muskohge.—Note by Adair.

[17] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 164–167.

[18] Ibid., p. 182.

[19] Ibid., p. 164.

[20] Ibid. p. 155.

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727 782 what form their butchers use. They are generally sacrificed before their conquerors set off for war with their ark and supposed holy things. And sometimes the Indians devote every one they meet in certain woods or paths, to be killed there, except their own people; this occasioned the cowardly Cheerake in the year 1753, to kill two white men on the Chikkasah war-path, which leads from the country of the Muskohge. And the Shawànoh Indians who settled between the *Ooe-Asa* and *Koosah-towns*, told us, that their people to the northward had devoted the English to death for the space of six years; but when that time was expired and not before, they would live in friendship as formerly." [23]

721 554 From all this it may be seen that the main object of fighting was not to defeat the enemy from any such sentiment as devotion to country or desire for plunder, but to obtain scalps and thereby social advancement and to placate the souls of the departed. From this fact and the heavy penalties laid upon the war leader in case of failure it transpired that the Indians seldom attacked against odds unless they believed their attack to be unexpected. A small, resolute 726 body time and again beat off odds that could easily have wiped them out had it not been for the great fear of even slight loss on the part of the attackers. Adair mentions an instance in which 80 Choctaw would not attack the party to which he belonged, consisting of about 40 Chickasaw with women and children to protect, because they knew that their presence had been discovered.[23] On another occasion he states that 17 Chickasaw, accompanied by their wives and children, fought off more than 60 Choctaw.[24] In the time of [722] an attack on the town or camp, Adair says, "It is usual for the women to sing the enlivening war songs; and it inflames the men's spirits so highly that they become as fierce as lions. I never knew an instance of the Indians running off, though, from a numerous enemy and leaving their women and children to their barbarous hands.[24] In another connection Adair mentions as a war custom the killing of a great number of captives because the leader of the war party had been wounded and his life was despaired of.[25] He cites an instance in which a Chickasaw had been killed by some Choctaw after having been given food and, since this fact was cast up against the Choctaw by the avenging party, it would seem to have been contrary to native laws of war. This is further strengthened by the fact that the Chickasaw thus killed was not scalped. In consequence the Chickasaw left the Choctaw whom they killed in retaliation also unscalped.[26]

These statements apply with greatest force, of course, to the Chickasaw, but the essential features recur in the Southeast where-

[23] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp 185-186.
[24] Ibid., pp. 318-319.
[25] Ibid., p. 319.
[26] Ibid., p. 320.
[27] Ibid., p. 322-323.

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726 lying in ambush there. Sometimes, when people of all ages and both sexes were camping in a certain place, a hostile tribe would come when the men were all off hunting and kill the women and children. They would run a stick through a child and put it over the fire, so that the returning hunters would find it roasted like a squirrel.

The Choctaw once captured an Alabama boy. When he grew up the Choctaw fought against the Alabama, and he helped them, so the Alabama wanted to capture him. They went to a conjurer and asked his aid. He promised them that he would aid them and told the women to get sticks with which to whip the prospective captive. Then the Alabama captured him, tied him to a tree, and whipped him for a long time. After a while they piled weeds all about him and set them on fire but still he did not die. Then they tied dry grass around him by means of a rope fastened about the tree, set it on fire, and danced about him shaking their rattles. When he was nearly dead he fell down, and they shook their gourd rattles over him until he expired.

721 554 561 The best account of institutional killing among the Creeks themselves, except that of Milfort, is given by Swan and is as follows:

"Every individual is at liberty to choose whether or not he shall engage in any warlike enterprise. But the rage of young men to acquire war-names, and the thirst of plunder in the elder ones and leaders, are motives sufficient to raise gangs of volunteers to go in quest of hair and horses at any time when they are disengaged from hunting. It is little matter with them what the pretence for going to war may be. They think that force constitutes right; and victory is an infallible proof of justice on their side; and they attack as boldly as they are indefatigable in securing a scalp, or to obtain plunder.

"Young men remain in a kind of disgrace, and are obliged to light pipes, bring wood, and help cook black-drink for the warriors, and perform all the menial services of the public square, until they shall have performed some warlike exploit that may procure them a war-name, and a seat in the square at the black-drink. This stimulates them to push abroad, and at all hazards obtain a scalp, or as they term it, bring in hair.

● 727 554 "When a young warrior, after a successful expedition, approaches the town he belongs to, he announces his arrival by the war-whoop, which can be heard a mile or more, and his friends go out to meet him. The scalp he has taken is then suspended on the end of a red painted wand, and, amidst the yelling multitude, accompanied with the war-song, is brought in triumph by him into the square, or centre of the town, where it is either deposited, or cut up and divided among his friends, who then dub him a man and a warrior,

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worthy of a war-name, and a seat at the ceremony of the black-drink, which he receives accordingly.

"Those who have seldom been abroad, and are not distinguished by war-names, are styled *old women*, which is the greatest term of reproach that can be used to them. They have also one other common term of reproach, viz.: Este dogo, i. e. *you are nobody* [isti toko, 'person is not']; this is a very offensive expression, and cautiously to be used; to say, *you are a liar*, is a common and harmless reply; but to use either of the two expressions would bring on a quarrel at once.

"The complete equipment of a war-party is simply to each man a gun and ammunition, a knife, a small bag of gritz, or pounded corn, and two or three horse-ropes, or halters. These parties are commonly small; never more than forty, fifty, and sixty go out together, as may be seen by their war-camps frequently to be found in the woods, which are so constructed that the exact number of men in the party can at once be ascertained. They make a point of taking boys and girls prisoners, whom they carefully preserve to supply the places of such of their people as have been, or may be killed from among them. But they save grown men and women as prisoners only when avarice takes precedence of barbarity; and they set the price of ransom upon them according to the rank and estimation in which they may be held among their countrymen.

"When prisoners of the latter description are brought into any of their towns, the Indian women, by paying a small premium of tobacco to the victorious warriors, are permitted to have the honor of whipping them as they pass along. This is often practised, to the pain and ridicule of the unfortunate victim of their sport and barbarity.

"It is asserted, that in most cases, if the Indians are warmly attacked by their enemy, and can once be dislodged from their several trees, that they will content themselves with one scalp, which they divide among the whole, then scatter and make the best speed home to their several towns to tell their friends of the affair. They are much given to lying and exaggeration on these occasions.

"Their ruling passion seems to be war; and their mode of conducting it constitutes some part of their general government." [1]

The following by Stiggins adds interesting particulars:

"They wage war thus: The national council is convened, and the nature of the offence is examined in a council of head chiefs and warriors, and if they conclude that the cause of collision is of so glaring a nature as to admit of no compromise or palliation, of nothing but the blood of the enemy, it is a positive declaration of war. The

[1] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, pp. 279-281.

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726 796 talisman, which he carries with himself religiously; it is a little sack in which there are certain stones and some pieces of cloth which he has taken from the clothing of the head chief, on returning from war. If the band chief should forget the sack he would not be able to command, and he would become a simple soldier during the entire expedition.[a]

"The Tastanégy or head war chief presents himself at the rendezvous promptly on the day indicated, and he is sure to find the youth assembled there; then he places himself at the head of the army, makes all of the arrangements he considers proper, without being obliged to render an account to anyone, and, certain that the discipline and his orders will be punctually observed, he marches against the enemy with confidence.

726 272 "When the army is thus prepared to march, each subordinate chief must be provided with a drink which they call the war medicine. This medicine consists in a slightly purgative liquor, which each warrior must take for three successive days before setting out to war.

"The Indians attach very great virtue to this war medicine and they have such confidence in it that it would be difficult for a head war chief to take any part of his army if it were deprived of it. He would be exposed to the greatest danger, if, by a surprise, he was forced to make [his army] fight before having complied with this duty. If he suffered a reverse, which could not fail to happen, because the soldiers would have no confidence, and would be defeated in advance by their superstitious fears, the chief would be accused of having brought on [the disaster] by his negligence in not having had the war medicine distributed, and he would become responsible for all of the events resulting from it.

"If this custom presents such dangers to the chief of the army, it furnishes him in exchange with exceptional means for the success of his enterprises. There are two medicines, the great and the little, and it is for the head chief to designate which must be taken. The great medicine makes a fanatic, so to speak, of the soldier; when he is filled with this medicine, he believes himself invulnerable, like Achilles dipped in the Styx. The little medicine serves to diminish the dangers in his eyes. Full of confidence in his chief, he is easily persuaded that, if he offers him only the little war medicine, it is

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[a] Elsewhere Millort gives the following account of the way in which the bits of clothing were obtained: "When a campaign is finished, and the army has returned, all the band chiefs accompany the Tastanégy or head war chief as far as the door of his house; and there the two oldest war chiefs descend from their horses, and set about stripping him completely; during this time two other chiefs present him with a piece of bark and some leaves of trees out of which a belt is made for him. As soon as he is disrobed, the two old men who have taken off his clothes tear them into small pieces and distribute them among all of the band chiefs who have been engaged in the expedition, and each of them puts his portion into the little medicine sack of which I have spoken.

"The army attaches such great virtue to this little sack that the chief who should forget it would not be able to command. When this distribution has been made, they sing a war song, each discharges his gun, and they separate to return to their respective homes." (Mém., pp. 321-322.)

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726 army. He always has a great number of scouts in advance and behind, so that the army is very seldom surprised. On the other hand the savages wage a war of surprise on Europeans, and it is very dangerous for those who do not understand it." [43]

•727 554 703 "These peoples, although endowed with a very warlike spirit, live very quietly and do not trouble their neighbors; but, when an enemy compels them to gather and take up arms, they do not return home without having fought, and having taken scalps from them; which may be compared to banners among European troops. When a Moskoqui has killed his enemy, he carries off his entire scalp, and it is a token very honorable for him, when he returns to the nation. You would be surprised at the skill and the swiftness with which they take off the skin of the head of a man whom they have killed. These scalps are not all of the same value; they are classified, and it is for the chiefs, as witnesses of noble actions, to pronounce on the merit of each of them. It is on the basis of the number and merit of these scalps that advancement takes place, as well in civil as in military affairs. Here I am going to give the reader an idea of the value which the Creeks place on carrying away the scalps of their enemies.

"The greater number of savage nations of North America took almost no prisoners of war; when, by chance, they did take some, they burned them or made them die in the most cruel torments after they had returned home. It was a feast day both for the victim and the executioners; the latter rejoiced at destroying an enemy of their country, and the former at dying for his. As it was a great honor for a warrior to kill many of his country's enemies, each pretended to have killed the most. At the period when I arrived among the Creeks, it was necessary, in order to occupy any place at all, to have carried away at least seven enemy scalps. A young Creek who, having been at war, did not bring back at least one scalp, always bore the name of his mother,[44] and he was not able to get a wife. . . .

"When a young warrior brings back a scalp for the first time, the chief and the warriors of the place where he lives, assemble in the great cabin in order to give him a name, and to take from him that of his mother. It is usually the chiefs who judge of the value of a scalp, based upon the dangers which have been gone through in order to carry it off; and they are, as I have said above, titles of advancement and consideration.

701 726 "At the moment of combat the head chief usually stations himself in the center of the army. He distributes the reserves wherever the danger seems to him most pressing; and, when he perceives that his army is faltering and he fears lest it give way before the efforts of the enemy, he advances in person and engages in hand to hand

[43] Milfort, Mém., pp. 217-219.

[44] Milfort means his childhood name, taken from the list of names belonging to his mother's clan. See Swan's remarks, pp. 426-427.

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scouts whose duties were to determine whither the enemy had gone. Seventh and lastly there was an officer known as the minkiso or inki'su, who looked after the supplies—i. e., he was the head of the commissary department. If another tribe had committed some depredation the sufferers would send runners out who uttered a peculiar whoop, and when this was heard the people would meet at some designated spot and these officers would put themselves at their head. Or if some young men desired to go out after scalps they would signify their desire and these officers would head them.

As it seems unlikely that so many officers would go out at the same time in order to satisfy the thirst for glory of one or two youths, we are probably to understand that this represents the complete quota of officers for a party of some size. That the leader of every party was ordinarily called hobayi seems to be established by the testimony of Adair[80] and Jackson Lewis. Adair states that he was a kind of temporary war priest, and Jackson Lewis, as above stated, declared that he was always selected from among those men who had received the training of a doctor.[81] Doctor Speck's informant, it will be noticed, distinguishes the hobayi or "hobáya" from the war leader ("*imísi*"), and lays particular emphasis on the religious functions of the former. He is described as "a shaman and prophet," as "a busy man in battle," who "besides carrying the fetishes and administering the emetic . . . had to sing and shout certain songs and formulas which would frighten and confuse the enemy."[82] It is possible that, while the war leader was normally a hobayi, one who had received a doctor's training, there were exceptions, and that, in such cases, for reasons that we can well appreciate, it was thought necessary that a hobayi accompany the expedition. This would account very satisfactorily for the discrepancies between Doctor Speck's description of a war party and the others.

It will be remembered that Bartram, in his account of the chunkey yard, speaks of two "slave posts" to which captives were tied when they were to be tortured and burned to death.[83] It is doubtful whether the number and position of these was very definite. They are still faintly remembered by some of the old Indians and are said to have been in the shape of war clubs (atasa). It is also recalled that they tied grass about the bodies of the captives and set it on fire. As in the case of the Chickasaw, older captives were usually burned at the stake, and the younger ones adopted unless they had been devoted in advance.

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[80] See p. 411. Mr. McCombs says that only the miko ranked higher.
[81] See p. 434.
[82] Speck in Mem. Am. Anthrop. Assn., vol. II, p. 118.
[83] See p. 173.

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Blood letting and sucking were frequently resorted to. Swan says that the Indians sometimes believed that they had been supernaturally shot by enemies hundreds of miles away and would then consult a doctress. "The cunning woman tells them that what they have apprehended is verily true, and proceeds to examine and make the cure. In these cases, scratching or cupping is the remedy; or, as is often the case, sucking the affected part with her mouth, she produces to their view some fragment of a bullet, or piece of a wad, which she had purposely concealed in her mouth to confirm the truth of what she had asserted; after this, a few magic draughts of their physic must be administered, and the patient is made whole."[96] Jackson Lewis said that pricks were sometimes made over the affected part with a little piece of glass. The large end of a short piece of cow horn was then placed over them and a quantity of blood sucked out through a hole pierced in the small end. Silas Jefferson states that he was once treated by a snake doctor who simply chewed up a bit of root and, holding it in his mouth, sucked out the poison. Next day he was perfectly restored. But unlike the former European practice, blood letting was not resorted to in cases of fever.[97]

Eakins says that bandages and lints were applied in many cases. He continues: "The success with which they treat gunshot wounds, cuts, &c., is generally attributed to the care of the physician. The Creeks never amputate. They are skilful in the use of splints. For removing the wounded they use the litter."[97]

Adair furnishes some information regarding the treatment of those wounded in war.

"The Indians . . . build a small hut at a considerable distance from the houses of the village, for every one of their warriors wounded in war, and confine them there . . . for the space of four moons, including that moon in which they were wounded, as in the case of their women after travail: and they keep them strictly separate, lest the impurity of the one should prevent the cure of the other. The reputed prophet, or divine physician, daily pays them a due attendance, always invoking Yo He Wah to bless the means they apply on the sad occasion; which is chiefly mountain allum, and medicinal herbs, always injoyning a very abstemious life, prohibiting them women and salt in particular, during the time of the cure, or sanctifying the reputed sinners. Like the Israelites, they firmly believe that safety, or wounds, etc., immediately proceed from the pleased, or angry deity, for their virtuous, or vicious conduct, in observing, or violating the divine law.

"In this long space of purification, each patient is allowed only a superannuated woman to attend him, who is past the temptations of

[96] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 271. [97] Ibid., vol. i, p. 274.

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752 sinning with men, lest the introduction of a young one should either
•727 seduce him to folly; or she having committed it with others—or by
783 not observing her appointed time of living apart from the rest, might thereby defile the place, and totally prevent the cure. But what is yet more surprising in their physical, or rather theological regimen, is, that the physician is so religiously cautious of not admitting polluted persons to visit any of his patients, lest the defilement should retard the cure, or spoil the warriors, that before he introduces any man, even any of their priests, who are married according to the law, he obliges him to assert either by a double affirmative, or by two negatives, that he has not known even his own wife, in the space of the last natural day."[a]

756 In earlier times it is said that the doctors claimed to have intercourse with good or bad spirits, but this personal side of the influences which they controlled appears to have gradually fallen out so that they were later of a general magic nature rather than through personal assisting spirits.

755 The "white day" and the "white smoke" were expressions used in medical formulæ or incantations. It is said that the term "white day" was specifically applied to the treatment given to a man [752 wounded in war because by "giving him the white day" the doctor 727] was prolonging his life. Two Creeks told General Hitchcock that doctors sometimes prescribed gifts to the tcokofa as a means of cure. This suggests a sanctity connected with that building similar to the sanctity attaching to the Natchez temple.

756 "If the physician fails in his cure," says Swan, "he will ascribe it to the cats or dogs that may be about the house; and they are either killed instantly, or sent out of the neighborhood. If after all the patient dies, the chance is two to one that the doctor is considered as a witch or sorcerer, influenced by the devil, and is pursued, beaten, and sometimes killed by the surviving relations; but if successful in restoring the patient to health, he is paid almost his own price for his services, in skins or cattle."[b] This dangerous side of shamanism is noted by Bossu and other writers and mentioned by some of my informants.[c]

755 Another method of doctoring was by sweat baths. These were
515 generally taken in a small lodge composed of blankets thrown over a framework of slender poles. When prepared to take a sweat bath they heated stones, carried them into the lodge and threw on them water which had first been doctored by being blown into through a cane. Some Indians were taking sweat baths regularly as late as 1914.

756 Doctors sometimes engaged in supernatural fights with one another.
791 Upon one occasion a doctor showed his power by throwing his hand-

[a] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 125.
[b] Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. ii, p. 88.
[c] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 271.

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a warrior; and that my heart was not easily melted. The women immediately returned, carrying with them the dead, which satisfied me they did not intend to trouble us again.

Thus, by an happy presence of mind, we were saved from almost inevitable destruction, and probably from ending our lives under the most excruciating torture.

It may not be improper to observe the necessity there is for a trader to be cool, firm, and, in case of emergency, brave, but not rash or hasty. The Indians are just observers of the human mind, and easily discover true from affected courage, by that apparent tranquillity which clearly distinguishes the former from the latter. It is well known that no people in the world put courage to so severe a trial, and watch at the executions of their enemies with such savage curiosity, the effects of the tortures they inflict; even the women exult in proportion to the agony betrayed by the unhappy sufferer; though it frequently happens thro' the same spirit operating on both parties, that the most excruciating torments cannot extort a sigh. An example or two from Mr. Adair's History of the American Indians, will shew the firmness of an Indian [72] mind, and prove beyond a doubt that such anecdotes are not exaggerated. Truth should be the standard of history, and guide the pen of every author who values his reputation.

Some years ago the Shawano Indians being obliged to remove from their habitations, in their way took a Muskohge warrior, known by the name of old *Scrany*, prisoner; they bastinadoed him severely, and condemned him to the fiery torture. He underwent a great deal without shewing any concern; his countenance and behaviour were as if he suffered not the least pain. He told his

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persecutors with a bold voice, that he was a warrior; that he had gained most of his martial reputation at the expence of their nation, and was desirous of shewing them, in the act of dying, that he was still as much their superior, as when he headed his gallant countrymen against them: that although he had fallen into their hands, and forfeited the protection of the divine power by some impurity or other, when carrying the holy ark of war against his devoted enemies, yet he had so much remaining virtue as would enable him to punish himself more exquisitely than all their despicable ignorant crowd possibly could; and that he would do so, if they gave him liberty by untying him, and handing him one of the red hot gun-barrels out of the fire. The proposal, and his method of address, appeared so exceedingly bold and uncommon, that his request was granted. Then suddenly seizing one end of the red hot barrel, and brandishing it from side to side, he forced his way through the armed and surprised multitude, leaped down a prodigious steep and high bank into a branch of the river, dived through it, ran over a small island, and passed the other branch, amidst a shower of bullets; and though numbers of his enemies were in close pursuit of him, he got into a bramble swamp, [73] through which, though naked and in a mangled condition, he reached his own country.

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The Shawano Indians also captured a warrior of the Anantoocah nation, and put him to the stake, according to their usual cruel solemnities: having unconcernedly suffered much torture, he told them, with scorn, they did not know how to punish a noted enemy; therefore he was willing to teach them, and would confirm the truth of his assertion if they allowed him the opportunity. Accordingly he requested of them a pipe and some tobacco, which